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## PROCEEDINGS OF THE SCOTTISH AND ENGLISH FORCES IN THE NORTH OF IRELAND, A.D. 1642.

Among the many very rare pamphlets preserved in what is termed "the King's Collection," in the British Museum,\* there is one (probably unique) bearing the following protracted title; which, "contriving a double debt to pay," is at once both title-page and index of contents:

"A True Relation of the Proceedings of the Scots and English Forces in the North of Ireland; sent in a letter to Mr. Tobias Siedgwick, living in London; Relating these particulars, viz:—

1. Their meeting at Drumboe, in the County of Antrim.
2. The manner of their march towards the Nury, with the taking of a Fort neere Kilwarlin Woods.
3. The taking of the Towne and Castle of the Nury, and the releasing of divers Prisoners of note.
4. The great spoile they tooke in those parts, with great terrour to the Rebels, and their flights from those parts.
5. Divers skirmishes with the Rebels in McCarton's Woods.
6. The desires of the Earle of Antrim to be received into the English Army.

With divers other things worthy your observation.

London : Printed for F. Coules and T. Bates. 1642."

The circumstances that caused the Scottish army, under Major-General Monro, to be sent into Ulster are too well known to require notice here. It is the dark and intricate bye-ways of history, not the plain, beaten tracks of the main road, that have to be retraced and explored. It is enough to say that the first division of the Scottish army, numbering about twenty-five hundred men, landed at Carrickfergus on the 15th of April, 1642. On the 27th of the same month, Monro, leaving six hundred men to garrison Carrickfergus, joined the English forces in the neighbourhood of Belfast, with the intention of marching against the enemy. It will be recollected that, on the eventful 23rd of the preceding October, Con Magennis, heading his own sept and the McCartans, had surprised and taken the town and castle of Newry, putting to death, as was generally the

\* Press Mark, 12,  $\frac{6}{52}$  9. 11.

custom in the Irish wars of the period, many of the inhabitants in cold blood. As Newry was still in the hands of the rebels, and its possession was of considerable importance in a political as well as a strategical point of view, Monro and his associates determined that their first enterprise should be the recapture of that place.

The pamphlet, the lengthy title-page of which I have just quoted, is in the form of a letter, from one Roger Pike, who accompanied the allied forces in their march against Newry, and gives a rather minute "relation of the proceedings." Another pamphlet, however, in the same collection,<sup>b</sup> contains Monro's official despatches to General Leslie. Moreover, Major Turner (afterwards Sir James), of Sinclair's Scotch Regiment, served in the expedition, and has left several notices of it in his very interesting *Memoirs*, published, from the original manuscript, at Edinburgh, in 1829. Considering Pike's letter—utterly buried where it is—as worthy of a reprint, I now proceed to give it in full, with occasional extracts referring to the same events from Monro's despatches, and Turner's *Memoirs*.

WILLIAM PINKERTON.

"The Copie of a Letter sent from a Gentleman in Ireland, to his friend, Mr. Tobias Siedgwick, living in London, June 8, 1642.

SIR,

According to my promise I shall labour briefly to informe you of what hath happened in these Northerne parts of *Ireland* since my coming over; wherein I shall endeavour, not willingly to vary from the truth in the least circumstance, that you may beleieve what I write without doubting, and may report it without blushing.

"On Thursday the 28 of Aprill, 1600 of the Scottish Army, 500 of the Lord Viscount *Conway's* Regiment, 500 of Colonell *Chichester's*, 400 of the Lord of the *Arde's* Forces, and 400 of the Lord *Clandeboy's*; 3 Troopes of Armed Horse, the Lord *Conway's*, Colonell *Chichester's*, and the Lord *Cromwell's*, and part of the Lord *Grandison's*, together with some 4 or 5 Troopes of light Horse; all these forces met together, and encamped at a place called *Drum-Boe*, naere *Belfast*, in the County of *Antrim*; Sir *John Clatworthy* promised to come with 400 men, but he could not get so many men to make his Regiment compleate, all these Troopes made some 300 Horse.<sup>c</sup>

<sup>b</sup> Press Mark, 601, <sup>f</sup>  
12

<sup>c</sup> Monro says:—"In all about 3400 foot in two divisions, viz. *Connway*, *Chichester*, *Glannebowies*, and *Ardis*, making one division; *Sinkler's* commanded men, him and I being a thousand six hundred, we made up the other division. I marched day about in the van-guard, and gave out the orders night about, my Lord *Conway* and I. We had also with us three troops of Dragoons, at fifty a piece,

and five troops of horse at forty a piece."

Dragoons were light horsemen, trained to serve either on horse or foot. Monro had also with him four small field-pieces, and "a big piece of five-pound bullet," taken off the Castle of Carrickfergus. The artillery were drawn by oxen, the small Irish horses, Monro tells us, being useless as "carriage" (draught) horses. They were used however as "baggage" (pack) horses.

"On Friday the 29 of Aprill, this Army marched on wards all together towards the *Nury*, and when they came a little beyond *Lisnagarvey*, they discred a partie of the Rebels' Horse, which shewed them at the edge of the Woods of *Kilwarlin*, upon which our horse made directly towards them over the fields, the foot marched along the high way; when our Horse came within twice musket shot of them they made a stand, in the meane time the foote marching along the highway, perceived a party of the Rebels in a Fort<sup>d</sup> which they had made at the entrance of *Kilwarlin* woods, which it seems they had made, thinking thereby to blocke up the way; this Fort plaid upon our Foote with their Muskets. Colonell *Chichester's* Regiment being then in the front he drew out certain companies, and made them to give fire by ranks upon the Fort; they remained thus skirmishing until our Horse with much difficultie, in regard of the wayes which were blockt up with Trees, came into the woods another way, and got betwixt the Fort and the wood; the Rebels seeing the Horse come behind them fled, our horse being divided into severall parties went severall ways pursuing of them; one party of our Horse, some 40, met with some 400 of them, and fought with them and put them to flight, and killed some 30 of them, the rest of our Horse chased them in the woods as farre as they were able to follow them for Thickets and Bogs; some of them would attempt to give fire at the Horse standing behind trees and Bushes, but as soone as they offered to make towards them, they durst not stand, but runne away. After the Horse had chased them a pretty while this way, a company of the Scottish souldiers came into them, Lieutenant *Dullen* who is Lieutenant to Colonel *Chichester's* Troopes spake to those Musketeres to follow the Rogues which were running in the woods where the troopes could not follow them; the most of them would not goe, I will not say, durst not, they pretended they wanted powder; but afterwards, before our faces, they shot at least 40 shots at randum in the woods. At this Skirmish there were in all kild and taken prisoners some 80 of the Rebels;<sup>e</sup> wee lost but one man, who was one of Colonel *Hill's* Light Horse-men, and one of the Lord *Cromwell's* Troopes had his horse kild under him, and some two Light Horse-men were slightly wounded; this night the army incamped in the middle of the woods of *Kilwarlin*, which is held to be the place of the strongest hold, yet the Rebels had not so much Gallantry in them as to give us an Alarum."

<sup>d</sup> The fort of Ennisloughlin, the ruins of which are, or were, a few years past, still visible near Moira.

<sup>e</sup> One of the followers of the Scotch army on this expedition was Livingstone, a Presbyterian minister, who, either in search of plunder, or to gratify an impure curiosity, made a particular inspection of the dead bodies of the Irish slain at the passes of Kilwarlin. For in his *Life* he says: "They were so fat that one might have hid their fingers in

the links of their breasts." Probably Livingstone, though not much of a natural philosopher, examined the dead to satisfy himself on a much disputed question of the period—namely, whether the wild Irish were furnished with tails! No fewer than forty soldiers of Treton's regiment testified, on their solemn oaths, that among the 700 massacred by Lord Inchiquin at the taking of Cashel, "divers of them had tails near a quarter of a yard long!"

Monro, in his despatch, thus describes the forcing of the passes of Kilwarlin :—

“ We marched toward the wood of Kilwarline, where the Enemie lay in one passe with 2,500 men and sixty horse, commanded by my Lord Evack, <sup>f</sup> Mackartane, Sir Con Macginnische, and Sir Rorie Mackginnische, they having cast off one bridge on the Passe, and retired from it to another Passe in the woods. I commanded our horsemen to go about, and to draw up on their flanke in the wood, having way to pass but one horse after another ; in the meane time our commanded Muskateers, and foure of oure fielding-pieces were brought over the Passe, and made good one passe till our whole army was set over, and then our canons forced them to give ground till we made open the second passe, being strait,<sup>g</sup> having mosse and bogs on every side ; at length our commanded Muskateers charged the front, and the Cavilree on the flankes, till they were forced with losse to retreat in disorder, athwart the woods and bogs on severall hands, in which time our whole army came over the Passe, and then our commanded Muskateers skirmished with them for three miles, in the woods, on both flankes, while the body of the army was making passages free to carry through the Canon and the Horsemen. At night we encamped all horse and foot in one body, the whole night in armes in the midst of the wood. In this skirmish Sir Rorie Mackginnische and Mackartans, two active men, brothers, were killed, with one hundred and fiftie more ; with the losse of two men on our side, and foure wounded. About Sir Rorie was found divers letters, which furnished us with intelligence of all their designs in opposing us in that field, and of their intention elsewhere.’

Turner says :—

“ In the woods of Kilwarning we rencountered some hundreths of the rebells, who after a short dispute fled. These who were taken got bot bad quarter, being all shot dead. This was too much used by both English and Scots all along in that warre ; a thing inhuman and disavouable, for the crueltie of one enemie cannot excuse the inhumanitie of ane other. And heerin also their revenge overmastered their discretion, which should have taught them to save the lives of these they tooke, that the rebells might doe the like to their prisoners.”

Pike continues :—

“ The next day being Saturday the 30 April, the Army marched on their way to the *Nury*, through *Drommore*, which is so consumed with fire, and ruinated, that there was not a house left standing except the Church. This night we incamped at a place [a typographical error here] eight miles of the *Nury*, called *Logh Brickland* : in the middle of this *Logh* there is an Iland in which were some of the Rebels, with divers English and Scots which were prisoners with them there, and a great deale of provision ; there was a house upon this Iland, upon which one of our field peeces played, and we shot at them with Muskets ; sometimes they would shoot againe, but hurt none of our

<sup>f</sup> Iveagh.

<sup>g</sup> Narrow.

men; there came a Bullet through Colonel *Chichester's* hare as he stood amongst his Souldiers, but hurt him not. All that our army could doe could not make them yeeld, for our shot could not come to hurt them in regard that they had digged a cave under ground where they did remaine; so as that it was impossible to hurt them with shot, as to shoote downe the Iland. This night there was a strict watch set round about the Iland lest the Rogues should steale away by night: the next morning being Sunday the first of *May*, the Boate which belonged unto the *Logh* being ignorantly left a float by the Rebels by the side of the Iland, it became the onely meanes of their ruine, for six Hilanders undertooke to swim for the boat to fetch it over; whilst they were swimming, our Army playd so hard upon the Iland with Musket shot, that not a Rebel durst peep out of the cave. Of these six Hilanders, two returned not being able to swimme over, two striving beyond their strenght were drowned, and only two got over, who swimming with their swords in their hands cut the Boate loose, and brought it over, which was manned with Musketeres, which took the Iland, releast the prisoners, and cut off the Rebels."

Monro, alluding to this affair, says :—

"Saturday, the last of April, we marched through the woods towards Louchbricklane, where being come on the plaine, our horsemen on the wings killed divers of them retiring, and some taken prisoners were hanged thereafter. And being come late to quartar, we could not ingage that night with the intaking of the Iland, where there lay a wicked Garrison in a fast place environed within a loch, being a refuge in safety, and their boats drawn. Sunday,<sup>b</sup> the first of May, being eight miles from the Newrie, I commanded the Cavilrie and Dragoneers to march for blocking up the Newrie, till our coming; and they being gone, I persued the Iland from the land with Canon and Musket for a time, and finding the roagues despirate, I adventured upon promise of reward six Hielandmen with their armes, pike and sword, to swim under mercy of ovr owne Canon, to bring away their Boat, whereof three swimmers died, two retired, and the sixt alone brought away the Boate: being shot through with a fielding picce, she was clampd up with salt hides, and being manned again took in the Ile, the whole sixty therein put to the sword, and our prisoners which they had, released."<sup>i</sup>

Pike proceeds:—

"After this was done, the Army marched on to the *Nury*, the Horse rid fast before, and when they came within sight of the towne they pursued the Rogues flying out of the towne, and running as fast as their nimble feet could carry them away; upon this a troope

<sup>b</sup> Monro's presbyterian soldiers had but a very slight idea of the sanctity of the Sabbath, for by that name they ignorantly and perversely termed Sunday, when deeds of massacre and plunder were to be perpetrated. The English puritans were much the same. One writer in *A True Relation of God's Providence in Ireland*—says, "Some of us

were thoughtful about the day being Sabbath, to which, and other objections, necessity" (the necessity of massacre!) "and present danger afforded answers."

<sup>i</sup> We see here that the Irish had saved some, at least, of their prisoners, which ought to have been a guarantee for their own lives.

of Light Horse were sent out, which were under the command of Captain *Winsor*, and out off about 100 of the Rogues as they fled; the rest of the Troopes drew neare unto the towne, and making a stand on a little hill about a quarter of a mile from the towne, one Master *Reading* came riding out of the towne to them, who had been a prisoner with them ever since the beginning of this Rebellion, and hee brought us word that the Rogues were all fled out of the towne, except some of the ancient towne dwellers, and that they willingly yeelded the towne, and that the Castle stood out still, in which were divers prisoners of the English, among the rest Sir *Edward Trevers*, Sir *Charles Poynes* and his sonne came out to meet us, who were taken prisoners at the first surprisall of the *Nury*. Colonell *Chichester's* Troope drew nearer the towne and stood close by the Church, within Musket shot of the Castle until the foote came up, which was for the space of two houres; when the generall Major came, they sent away the Troopes to quarter, halfe a mile out of the towne, and set a strickt centrey at the towne's end that none should come in but those whom he permitted; what was gotten the Horse got no share of, although they best deserved it.\* The Lord *Maginneses* Lady was now in the *Nury*.

"The next day being Monday, the Generall Major *Mount Roe*, and the Lord *Conway*, and Colonell *Chichester* resolved to come to a parley with the Castle, not that they held it any difficulty to take it, but in regard to those prisoners which they had within the Castle, least if they had fallen upon it in the severest way, the innocent had been destroyed with the guilty. This made the Rogues to stand upon their tearmes, and to refuse many gracious proffers of mercy, and kept them all this day in dispence, refusing to yeeld; the next day being Tuesday the third of *May*, Generall *Mount Roe* sent word unto the Captaine of the Castle, that notwithstanding the prisoners he had of ours with him, if he would not yeeld, since there was no remedy, he would blow up the Castle; the Captaine of the Castle returned him answer, that if he blew him up, we would be forced to borrow some of his powder; this peremptory answer made all to be prepared for to set upon the Castle: at last, when the Captaine of the Castle saw that they were like to goe to it in good earnest, he yeelded upon quarter for himselfe and some more. After this Castle was surrendered, they found but halfe a Barrell of Powder, 60 Muskets, and of them not above a dozen fixt; they had two murtherers which they put out only to make a shew, which were founde without chambers, and so foule and rusty that none of them durst have shot them off; such little prooffe is commonly in great bragges when they come to the triall: what other things of worth were found in the Castle were altogether concealed from the English, except some who had great friends."

\* Inferring that the Scotch had the lion's share of the plunder.

Monro thus describes the surrender of the Castle:—

“ Having summoned the Town and Castle to come in to our mercy or no mercy, the Town gave over, the Castle held out, alledging he was able to keepe it seven years. In the meane time we granted a time to the next morning to him to advise; during which time I fully recognishd the house and perceived I could take it by pittard or by fire. On Munday, the second of May, prepared our fagots, and made ready our batteries before Tuesday at mid-day, resolving to take it rather by terrour of our Canons then by fire or by pittard, which would make the place unprofitable for us; next if it were taken so, Sir *Edward Travers*, a man of good account, being there a prisoner, had died also by them or with them; so, having all things in readinesse, quainted them againe there was no quarter for them, but he and his Garrison to march forth without Armes, with white sticks in their hands, and he should have a free convoy, and their lives spared. These of the Town should have no other quarter than to come forth in our reverence. And our Prisoners to be safely delivered unto us, which they at once accorded unto; but getting intelligence *Sir Philome* was neere hand for their reliefe, they resolved to delay till the next morning, which being refused, we forced up their outer gate, and were ready to pittard the second, were not for fear of the Prisoners, who cried for mercy; and that the gate should be made up instantly, as was done, and the Castle that night guarded by us, and the Prisoners guarded in the Towne. On Wednesday, the fourth of May, the Captaine was sent away with a Convoy, and the townsmen detained till trial should be made of their behaviours. We entered in examination of the townsmen, if all were Papists; and the indifferent being severed from the bad, whereof 60 with two priests were shot and hanged, the indifferent are banished.”

(Turner.)

“The toun came immediatelee into our hands; but the rebells that were in the Castle keepd it two days, and then delivered it up upon a very ill made accord, or a very ill keepd one; for the nixt day most of them with many merchands and tradesmen of the toun, who had not been in the Castle, were carried to the bridge and butcherd to death, some by shooting, some by hanging, and some by drowning, without any legal processe; and I was verilie informed afterwards, that severall innocent people suffered. Monro did not at all excuse himselfe from having accession to that carnage, nor could he purge himself of it; thogh my Lord Conway, as Marshall of Ireland, was the principal actor. Our sojors (who sometimes are cruell, for no other reason bot because man's wicked nature leads him to be so, as I have showne in my *Discourse of Cruelty* <sup>1</sup>) seeing such pranks played by authoritie at the bridge, though they might doe as much any where else and so runne upon a hundreth and fiftie women or thereby, who had got together in a place below the bridge, whom they resolvd to massacre by killing and drounding; which villanie the sea seemd to

<sup>1</sup>Turner was a man of letters, as well as a gallant soldier; Continental wars, he was disgusted by the horrible scenes and though he had seen some very rough service in the he witnessed in Ireland. His Memoirs are most interesting.

favour, it being then flood. Just at that time was I speaking with Monro, bot seeing a fare off what a game these godless rogues intended to play, I got a horseback and gallopd to them with my pistoll in my hand; bot before I got at them they had dispatched about a dozen; the rest I saved."

(Pike:)

"On Munday the fifth of *May* ten out of every Troope were sent to *Dundalke* to the English Army; the next day Sir *Henry Tichborne*, came along with them to the *Nury* with a guard of three Troopes of Horse, and stayed some three hours at the *Nury* and returned.

The common souldiers, without direction from the Generall-Major, took some 18 of the *Irish* women of the towne, and stript them naked, and threw them into the River, and drowned them, shooting some in the water; more had suffered so but that some of the common souldiers were made examples on and punished.

On Thursday the 6 of *May*, the Lord *Conwaye's* Troope, Colonell *Chichester's*, and the Lord *Cromwell's*, with part of the Lord *Grandison's*, went out towards *Armagh*; and by the way they saw about a thousand of the Rebels which stood in a Bogge, but durst not stirre out to incounter with our Troopes, nor the Troopes could not come at them for the Bogge, although they faine would have charged them, therefore they returned backe to the *Nury* thinking to fall upon them the next morning, and bring some foot with them but they heard the next day that they were fled, and that Sir *Phelim O'Neale* was among them. Some of the prisoners that made an escape from them, reported that *Armagh* is burnt, and that the Rogues are fled from thence towards *Chalimount*.

On Friday, being the sixt of *May*, those of the Rebells that were in the Castle which had not Quarter, and divers of the ill-affected *Irish* in the towne, were shot to death on the bridge, some three score or more; there was a great Iron Battering-peece taken in the *Nury* which was left on an old Turret in the towne, throwne off the Carriages, which I forgot to name before.

On Saturday, the seventh of *May*, they provided to march back again, leaving behinde in Garrison at the *Nury* about 300 men well armed, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonell *Sinkcleare*, promising to send him some 500 more from *Carrickfergus*, with all the speede possibly could be made, being some of the rest of Lieuetenant Collonell *Sinkcleare's* Regiment, which came over since the Army went abroad; Generall Major *Mount Roe* left private direction (as I heard) with Lieutenant Collonell *Sinkcleare* to banish all the *Irish* out of the towne, as soone as he was gone.

The Army marched home through *Maginenses'* and *McCarton's* Country, and marched in three divisions, burning all the houses and corne before them, and brought away the

spoyle of the countrey before them, and cattle in great abundance, there was much goods left behind, and provision which they could neither destroy nor carry away, being hid underground in the backside of every house; the devision that Collonell *Chichester* commanded, burnt *McCarton's* and *Ever Maginese's* owne dwelling houses. Sunday at night was such stormy wether, that some thirtie of the souldiers and others which followed campe perished with meere cold; and no wonder, for it kild some fiftene horses, which were found dead the next morning: Colonell *Chichester's* troope marching a pretty space before the Army, tooke divers prisoners, and killed divers of the Rebels upon their March."

(Turner:)

"I do remember that there we suffered one of the most stormy and tempestuous nights for hail, rain, cold, and excessive wind, though it was the beginning of May, that ever I yet saw. All the tents were in a trice blown over. It was not possible for any match to keep fire, or any soldier to handle his musket, or yet stand; yea, severalls of them died that night of mere cold. So that if the Rebels, whereof there were five hundred not far from us, had offered to beat up our quarters with such weapons as they had, which were half-pikes, swords, and daggers which they call skeens, they would undoubtedly have had a cheap market of us. Our sojors, and some of our officers too (who suppose that nothing that is more than ordinarie can be the product of nature) attributed this hurrikane to the devilish skill of some Irish witches; and if that was true, then am I sure their master gave us a good prooffe that he was reallie Prince of the aire."

(Pike:) "On Tuesday, the 10 of May, the Army met together and incamped in the middle of *McCarton's* woods; when they came all together, there were at least 800 baggage horses (as they call them) loaded with the spoile of the countrey, and I thinke I speake within compasse if I say 3,000 cowes; but, by the way, as they came this day through the thickets of *McCarton's* wood, the Lord *Conwaye's* troope, Colonell *Hill's*, and Captaine *Matthewe's*, and some other troopes of Light Horse, the Rogues shot at them from behinde trees, and killed the Lievetenant to the Lord *Conwaye's* troope, Lievetenant *Fisher's* led-horse, and him that led him, and got in betwixt the troopes and the baggage horses, and cut off some of the men that went along with these horses, and had cut off more but that Captain *Trevers* rid backe againe with some of his troope, and relieved them.

"On Wednesday, the Army marched through the rest of *McCarton's* woods, with all the aforesaid loadon, horses, and cowes, marching all together, but spreading the foot broad in the woods, to burn the cabbins which were built there, and to clear the woods before them: They found no opposition this day, at night they encamped at *Drumboe*."

(Monro:)

"I resolved to return with the Army, marching through my Lord *Evacke's* countrey, *Machartan*, and *Slowtneils*, being only the considerable enemy in the Countrey of Down. And in

our march, I resolved myself with 800 Musketeers to put them from their strengths, in the Mountaines of Mourne, and to rob them of their cattell, which we did. I marching through the Mountaines on the right hand, and the Army, Horse, and Foot, and Artillary marching through the valley on the left hand, where we joined together, on Sunday, the eight, at night, foure miles from the Passe of Dundrum, bordering betwixt my Lord Evacke's land and Mackartan's. Munday, the ninth, we divided the Army in three, Colonel Home with 500 commanded Musketeers, two troops of Dragoneers, and one troop of Horse; to Connoway the Artillery, cattell, and baggage, the safest way towards Mackartane's own house; the rest of the Horse, Lieutenant-Colonell Montgomrie, and 200 commanded Muskateers, were sent about the Mountaines to run through betwixt Kilwarnig woods and Killernie woods to the randevous, the next day, at Mackartane's house; and hearing Mackartane with his forces and cattell were lying in one strait in the woods of Killernie, I marched thither myselve with the body of the foot and colours, and having quartered on Monday, at night, within three miles of the enemy, came upon them the next morning unawares, without sound of drum, so they were scattered. And having commanded further three bodies of Muskateers to several parts, appointing one randevow for all, we brought together to our quarters at night above foure thousand cattell, and joined all together at night at Mackartane's house; and divers were killed of the Rebels, being scattered on all hands; and one strong body of them on one passe in the woods fore gathered with the horsemen and Lieutenant-Collonel Montgomrie, where the foot behooved to guard the house, they being unskilfull in their leding, having lost foure horses and five men. Wednesday, the eleventh, hearing the enemy was resolved to fight with us in the wood, we marched with our Artillary and commanded men into the Van Guard, our two divisions marching after with commanded men in the flanks; we were forced to make severall stops to cleere the passages they had stopped in the woods to keep us up; our cattell marched next to the army, being guarded with Pikemen and Muskateers on all quarters; our baggage next to them; our horsemen and dragooners in the rear of all. The Rebels being drawne up on the hills, perceiving our order of march, durst not ingage with us; so, coming free off, we quartered at night in Drumbo."

(Pike :) "The next day, when the cowes were to be divided, many of them were stollen away into the Ardes and Clandeboys the last night, and the goods so sneakt away by the Scots that the *English* troopes got just nothing, and the English foote very little, which gave them too just a cause to mutany, in so much as I think it will be hard to get them out to march with the Scots againe, who will have both the credit and profit of what-soever is done or had."

(Monro :)

"The next morning, divided our cattell, such as remained unstolen by the horsemen and plunderers, being an infinite number of poor contemptible countrymen, which could not be reduced to order."

Those "contemptible countrymen, who could not be reduced to order," were the native Irish camp-followers, who, making themselves useful as spies, drivers of cattle, leaders of baggage-horses, &c., used to follow the English as well as the Irish armies, and added to the horrors of war by plundering and murdering, without distinction of age or sex, the weak, wounded, and vanquished, whether of the British race or those of their own country, language, and religion. A good description of these wretches is found in "A true relation of God's Providence in Ireland," written by an officer, who served in the Parliamentary army, commanded by Lord Brooke in the South of Ireland. He says:—"There is a company of people that attend every army and force that march out, they call Pillagers, who, though not soldiers, yet, with some light armes, they follow the camp on horse and foot; and whilst the soldier must keep his order, they run into the houses, lade their horses with what they can get, drive away the cattell, and wholly discourage the soldiers. These spare neither woman nor child, as we saw before our eyes, which saddened some hearts; of these we had an hundred attending us. Our Lieutenant-General made an order for these that they should ride under the command of a Captain; but these Pillagers would know no command but of their own advantages, and, though pressed with many arguments, scattered at pleasure, stript the slain, and made havock of all."

Pike thus concludes:—

"In the absence of the Army there were six score Musketeres left to Garrison at *Malone*, which was set upon by the Irish, and the most of it burnt; these valiant Scots, set to keep the towne, when it was set upon, fled, and did not so much as face the Rebels; some 800 of the Scots which lay in the Trench some sixe mile of *Carrickfergus*, in the absence of the aforesaid Army, went out to plunder, and being set upon by some horse and foote of the Rebels not much above their number, I will not say fled from them, but retreated so fast, as that they were forced to blow up a barrell of powder they had with them, and blew up some eight of their men with it, and as I heare credibly, lost above a hundred Armes; they carry the matter very privately here, but this is truth. The Earle of *Antrem* is now at *Glenarme*, a place twelve miles off *Carrickfergus*, and would faine be received into this towne; what Generall *Mount Roe* and the Lord *Conway* will do in it, I know not; Generall *Lasly* will be over here within this weeke, as he hath sent word unto Generall Major *Mount Roe*. I have no more to write, but desire to remaine,

Your Humble servant to Command,

ROGER PIKE."

Carrick-fergus, this 30 of May, 1642.

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